

August 22, 2013

---

## King's Dream Remains an Elusive Goal; Many Americans See Racial Disparities

---

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, CONTACT

Pew Research Center  
1615 L St., N.W., Suite 700  
Washington, D.C. 20036

Media Inquiries:  
202.419.4372  
[www.pewresearch.org](http://www.pewresearch.org)

---

## About the Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends Project

[Pew Research Center](#) is a nonpartisan source of data analysis. It does not take advocacy positions. Its Social & Demographic Trends project studies behaviors and attitudes of Americans in key realms of their lives, including family, community, finance, work and identity. All of the Social & Demographic Trends project reports are available at [www.pewsocialtrends.org](http://www.pewsocialtrends.org). Pew Research Center is a subsidiary of The Pew Charitable Trusts.

The staff of the Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends project is:

*Paul Taylor, Director*

*Kim Parker, Associate Director*

*Richard Fry, Senior Research Associate*

*Gretchen Livingston, Senior Researcher*

*D'Vera Cohn, Senior Writer*

*Rich Morin, Senior Editor*

*Wendy Wang, Research Associate*

*Anna Brown, Research Assistant*

*Eileen Patten, Research Analyst*

*Mary Seaborn, Administrative Manager*

This report was a collaboration with the following members of the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press:

*Michael Dimock, Director*

*Jocelyn Kiley, Senior Researcher*

*Rob Suls, Research Associate*

## Table of Contents

	PAGE
Overview	1
Chapter 1: I Have a Dream, 50 Years Later	7
Chapter 2: Public Sees Less Short-term Progress for Blacks	15
Chapter 3: Demographic & Economic Data, By Race	20
Appendix 1: About the Survey Data	32
Appendix 2: Topline Questionnaire	34



## OVERVIEW

Five decades after Martin Luther King's historic "I Have a Dream" speech in Washington, D.C., a new survey by the Pew Research Center finds that fewer than half (45%) of all Americans say the country has made substantial progress toward racial equality and about the same share (49%) say that "a lot more" remains to be done.

Blacks are much more downbeat than whites about the pace of progress toward a color-blind society. They are also more likely to say that blacks are treated less fairly than whites by police, the courts, public schools and other key community institutions.

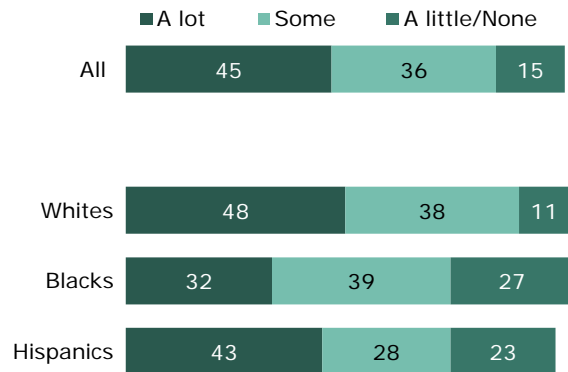
While these differences by race are large, significant minorities of whites agree that blacks receive unequal treatment when dealing with the criminal justice system.

For example, seven-in-ten blacks and about a third of whites (37%) say blacks are treated less fairly in their dealings with the police.

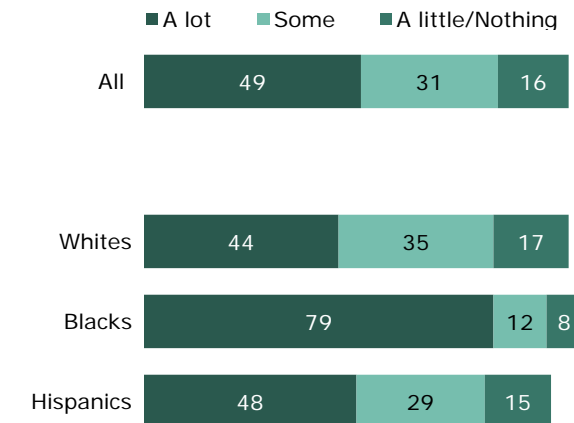
Similarly, about two-thirds of black respondents (68%) and a quarter of whites (27%) say blacks are not treated as fairly as whites in the courts.

### Despite Progress, Many Say Racial Equality Still Not a Reality

*How much progress toward Martin Luther King's dream of racial equality do you think the U.S. has made over the last 50 years? % saying...*



*How much more needs to be done in order to achieve racial equality? % saying...*



Notes: Based on full sample, N=2,231. Blacks and whites include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics may be of any race.

Source: Pew Research Center Race Survey conducted Aug. 1-11, 2013. Unless otherwise noted, survey findings in this report are from this poll.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Q2, Q3

The survey also finds that large majorities of blacks (73%) and whites (81%) say the two races generally get along either “very well” or “pretty well.”

Similarly, large majorities of Hispanics and whites say the same thing about relations between their groups (74% and 77%, respectively). A substantial majority of blacks (78%) and smaller share of Hispanics (61%) say their groups get along.

Still, about a third of all blacks (35%) say they had been discriminated against or treated unfairly because of their race in the past year, as do 20% of Hispanics and 10% of whites.

The nationally representative survey of 2,231 adults, including 376 blacks and 218 Hispanics, was conducted by telephone Aug. 1-11.

## 50 Years of Change

The mixed views on progress toward racial equality found in the survey results are echoed in the findings of a Pew Research Center analysis of U.S. government data on indicators of well-being and civic engagement, including personal finance, life expectancy, educational attainment and voter participation. These data look at equality of outcomes rather than equality of opportunity.

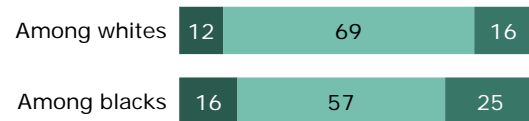
The analysis finds that the economic gulf between blacks and whites that was present half a century ago largely remains. When it comes to household income and household wealth, the gaps between blacks and whites have widened. On measures such as high school completion and life expectancy, they have narrowed. On other measures, including poverty and homeownership rates, the gaps are roughly the same as they were 40 years ago.

## How Well do Racial and Ethnic Groups Get Along These Days?

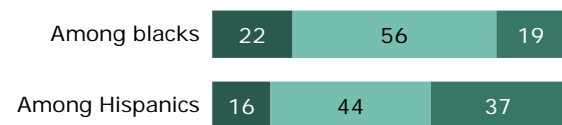
% saying these groups get along ...

■ Very well ■ Pretty well ■ Not too/Not at all well

### Blacks and whites



### Blacks and Hispanics



### Whites and Hispanics

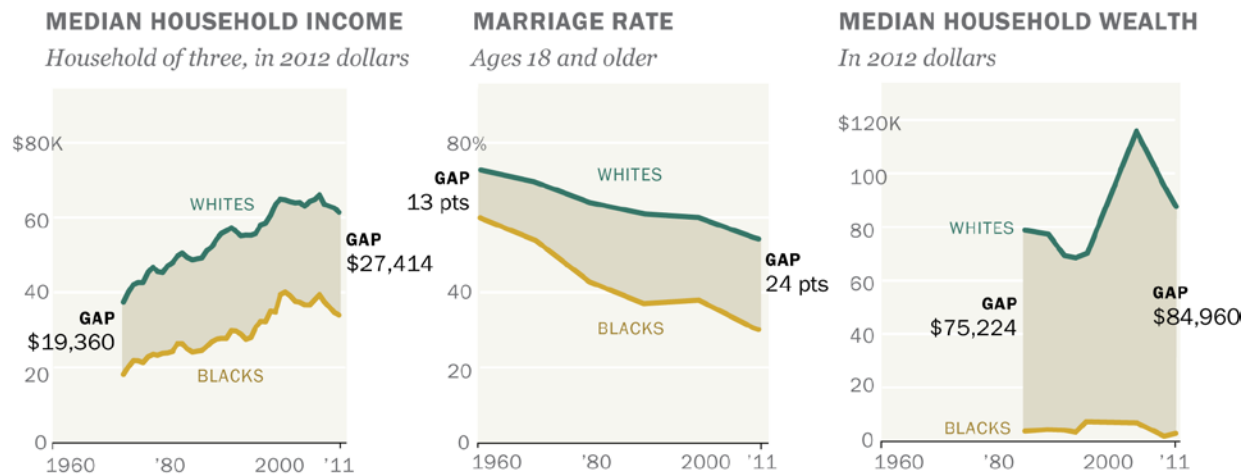


Note: “Don’t know/Refused” responses not shown.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Q8

## Where Gaps Have Widened



Source: Based on Pew Research Center analysis of government data. See chapter 3 for detailed notes and sourcing.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

**Finances.** Between 1967 and 2011 the median income of a black household of three rose from about \$24,000 to nearly \$40,000.<sup>1</sup> Expressed as a share of white income, black households earn about 59% of what white households earn, a small increase from 55% in 1967. But when expressed as dollars, the black-white income gap widened, from about \$19,000 in the late 1960s to roughly \$27,000 today. The race gap on household wealth has increased from \$75,224 in 1984 to \$84,960 in 2011.

Other indicators of financial well-being have changed little in recent decades, including homeownership rates and the share of each race that live above the poverty line. The black unemployment rate also has consistently been about double that of whites since the 1950s.

**Education.** High school completion rates have converged since the 1960s, and now about nine-in-ten blacks and whites have a high school diploma. The trend in college completion rates tell a more nuanced story. Today, white adults 25 and older are significantly more likely than blacks to have completed at least a bachelor's degree (34% vs. 21%, a 13 percentage point difference). Fifty years ago, the completion gap between whites and blacks was about 6 percentage points (10% vs. 4%). But expressed a different way, the black completion rate as a percentage of the white rate has improved from 42% then to 62% now.

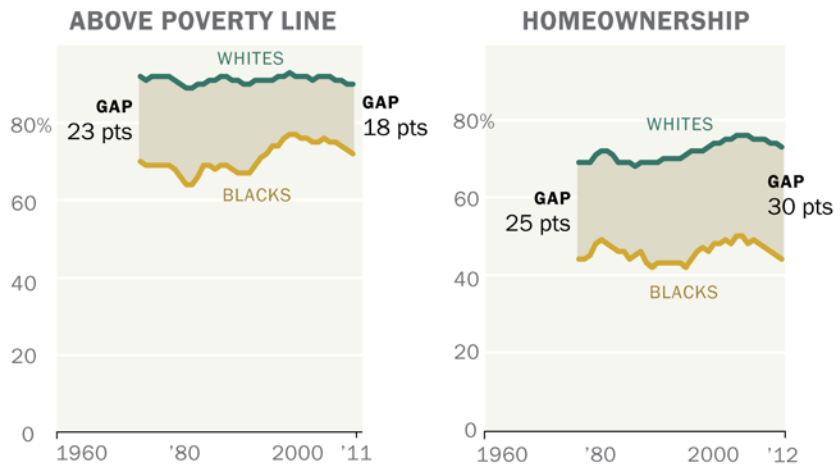
<sup>1</sup> 1967 and 2011 median household income figures expressed in 2012 dollars.

**Family formation.** The analysis finds growing disparities in key measures of family formation.

Marriage rates among whites and blacks have declined in the past 50 years, and the black-white difference has nearly doubled. Today about 55% of whites and 31% of blacks ages 18 and older are married. In 1960, 74% of whites and roughly six-in-ten blacks (61%) were married. The share of births to unmarried women has

risen sharply for both groups; black mothers of newborns today are about two and a half times as likely as whites to be unmarried—72% vs. 29%.

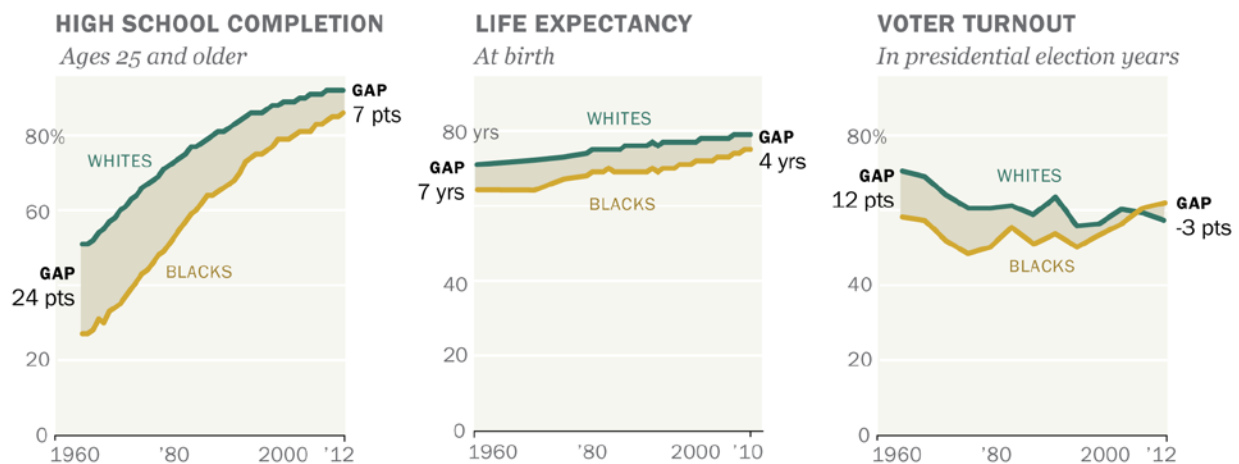
### Where Gaps Are Little Changed



Source: Based on Pew Research Center analysis of government data. See chapter 3 for detailed notes and sourcing.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

### Where Gaps Have Narrowed



Source: Based on Pew Research Center analysis of government data. See chapter 3 for detailed notes and sourcing.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER



**Incarceration.** Black men were more than six times as likely as white men in 2010 to be incarcerated in federal and state prisons, and local jails, the last year complete data are available. That is an increase from 1960, when black men were five times as likely as whites to be incarcerated.

**Voter turnout.** Participation rates for blacks in presidential elections has lagged behind those of whites for most of the past half century but has been rising since 1996. Buoyed by the historic candidacies of Barack Obama, blacks nearly caught up with whites in 2008 and surpassed them in 2012, when 67% of eligible blacks cast ballots, compared with 64% of eligible whites.

**Life Expectancy.** The gap in life expectancy rates among blacks and whites has narrowed in the past five decades from about seven years to four.

### Looking Back Five Years

While demographic change happens slowly, attitudes can change quickly. The Pew Research Center survey finds that since 2009, there has been a fading of the heightened sense of progress that blacks felt immediately after Obama's election in 2008.

Today, only about one-in-four African Americans (26%) say the situation of black people in this country is better now than it was five years ago, down sharply from the 39% who said the same in a 2009 Pew Research Center survey.

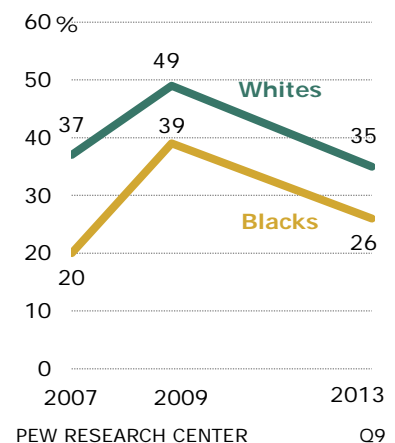
Among whites, the share that sees improvement in situation of blacks also fell, from 49% to 35%, in the last four years.

For both blacks and whites, the latest finding on this question is returning to the levels recorded in a Pew Research Center poll in 2007 on the eve of the Great Recession.

In the latest survey, opinions about black progress vary considerably by educational attainment among blacks, a change from the 2009 survey when there was no gap by education among blacks.

### Sense of Black Progress Down Sharply from 2009

*% saying situation of black people is better today, compared with five years ago*



In the current poll, only 22% of blacks who have attended at least some college say the situation of black people in this country is better today than it was five years ago. Among those with a high school education or less, roughly one-third say things are better.

### About the Report

The remainder of this report is organized in the following way. The first chapter breaks down the public's perception of progress toward racial equality over the past 50 years. The second chapter focuses on perceptions of change in just the past five years among key demographic groups and compares the latest survey results with those from previous Pew Research Center surveys. The final chapter tracks changes in key measures of well-being for blacks and whites over the past 50 years as measured by the U.S. Census and other government statistics.

## CHAPTER 1: I HAVE A DREAM, 50 YEARS LATER

Five decades after Martin Luther King Jr.'s historic "I Have a Dream" speech in Washington, D.C., racial equality remains an elusive goal. Fewer than half of all Americans say the country has made "a lot" of progress in the past 50 years toward achieving King's vision of racial equality. At the same time about half also say that much remains to be done.

A new Pew Research Center survey finds that 45% of the public says the country has made a lot of progress in the past 50 years toward racial equality. An additional 36% say "some" improvement has been made, while about one-in-six Americans (15%) say they have seen little or no change.

Yet the overwhelming majority says the slow and sometimes painful process of building a color-blind society remains largely unfinished business. About half of all Americans (49%) say the country still needs to make "a lot" more progress to become a truly color-blind society. Three-in-ten (31%) say some progress still needs to be made. Only a relatively small share (16%) say little or nothing remains to be done.

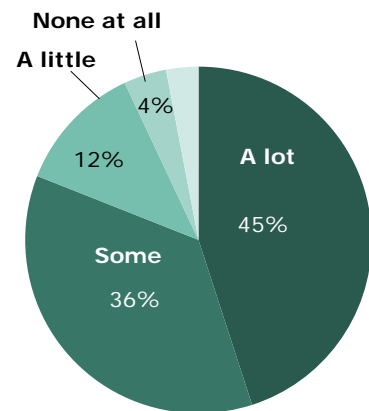
Echoing the social fractures of the civil rights era, the survey finds the country remains deeply divided by race and by political partisanship over what has been accomplished and what still needs to be done to achieve racial equality.

Turning to other topics, the survey finds that blacks are consistently more likely than whites to say blacks are treated less fairly in their communities by institutions such as the criminal justice system, the public schools, at their place of employment and when voting in elections.

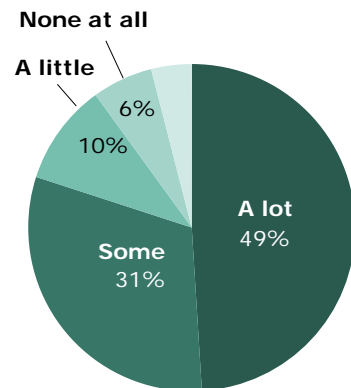
According to the survey, seven-in-ten blacks say African Americans are treated less fairly than whites in their dealings with police. In contrast, some 37% of whites say blacks are treated less fairly, and 13% are unsure.

### How Far We've Come, How Far We Have to Go

*How much progress toward racial equality has the U.S. made in the past 50 years?*



*... And how much more needs to be done?*



Notes: Based on all adults, N=2,231. "Don't know/Refused" responses are shown but not labeled.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q2,3

Similarly, about seven-in-ten blacks (68%) say African Americans are not treated as fairly as whites by the courts. About a quarter of whites (27%) agree with this assessment, and 16% are unsure.

On the issue of group relations, the survey finds that a majority of whites, blacks and Hispanics say the races generally get along well with each other.

While perceptions of relations between blacks and whites remain unchanged since they were last measured in a 2009 Pew Research Center survey, a growing share of the public says blacks and Hispanics as well as Hispanics and whites are getting along better today than they did four years ago.

The results also suggest that relations between blacks and Hispanics are viewed as being somewhat less positive than those between whites and blacks or whites and Hispanics.

## Demographic Differences

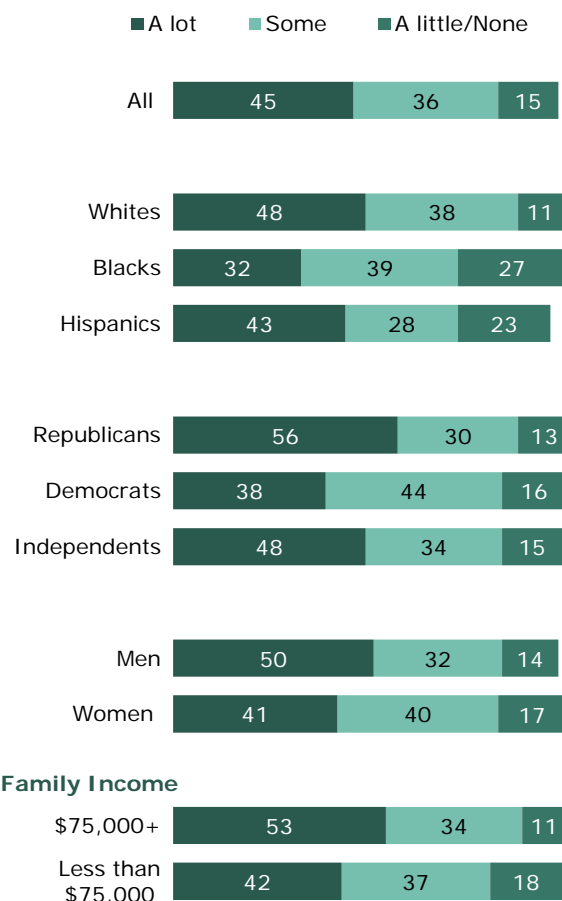
Blacks and whites hold different perceptions of the progress the country has made toward King's dream of racial equality.

According to the survey, about half of all whites (48%) but only a third of blacks (32%) say "a lot" of progress has been made in the past 50 years to achieve equality between the races.

The racial divide opens even wider when respondents are asked about how much still needs to be done to achieve King's dream of racial parity. About eight-in-ten blacks (79%) say a lot still needs to be done—more than 30

## Different Groups, Different Views of Racial Progress

*% in each group who say the United States has made ... progress toward racial equality in the past 50 years*



Notes: Blacks and whites include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics may be of any race. Based on all adults, N=2,231. "Don't know/Refused" responses not shown.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Q2

percentage points greater than the proportion of whites (44%) who feel the same way.

While the political environment is arguably less racially charged now than it was in 1964 when King delivered his “Dream” speech on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, the survey finds that Republicans and Democrats hold very different views on the extent of racial progress and the need for more.

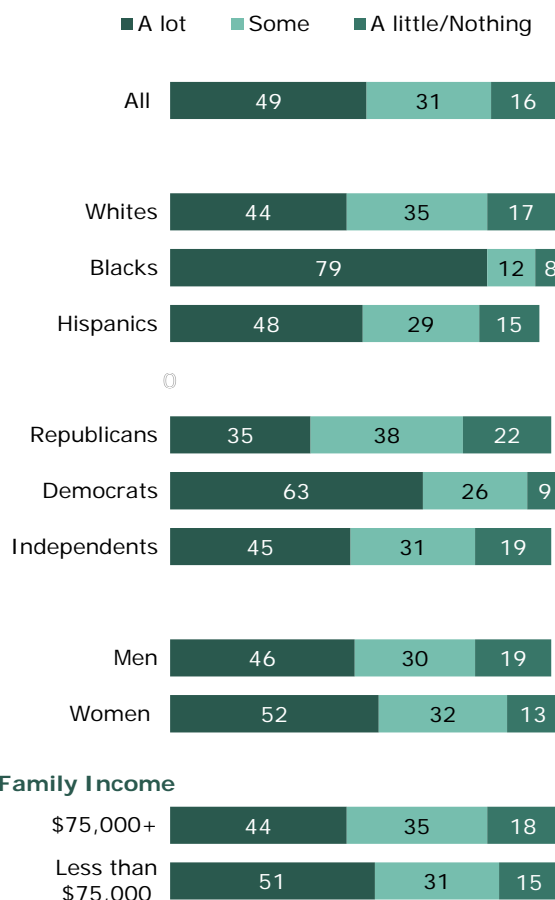
A majority of Republicans (56%) but 38% of Democrats say the country has made a great deal of progress insuring racial equality, a view that is also shared by 48% of all political independents.

When respondents are asked how much needs to be done in the future, about a third of Republicans (35%) say “a lot” still needs to be done, compared with 63% of Democrats. Among independents, about 45% say much remains unfinished.

These partisan differences remain large when just the views of white Democrats and Republicans are compared. Among whites, about six-in-ten Republicans (58%) but 40% of Democrats say significant progress has been made toward racial equality. And fully 56% of white Democrats but only a third (34%) of white Republicans say a lot more progress needs to be made.

## Different Groups, Different Views Of What More Needs to Be Done

*% in each group who say ... more needs to be done to achieve racial equality*



Notes: Blacks and whites include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics may be of any race. Based on all adults, N=2,231. “Don’t know/Refused” responses not shown.

## Gender, Education and Income

Smaller differences emerge among other key demographic groups. For example, men are somewhat more likely than women to say the country has made significant progress toward equality in the past 50 years (50% vs. 41%). They also are less likely than women to say that significantly more progress needs to be made (46% vs. 52%).

Blacks who attended some college or more are significantly less likely than those with less formal education to say the country has made major strides eliminating racial bias in the past five decades (26% vs. 38%). But about eight-in-ten in both groups say that much more progress is needed. Among whites there is no significant difference.

The survey also finds that those with annual family incomes of \$75,000 or more are more likely than those with incomes below \$75,000 to say a lot of progress has been made on racial equality (53% vs. 42%). These higher earners also are less likely than those earning less than \$75,000 to believe that much more progress needs to be made (44% vs. 51%).

## Most Say More Progress Needed

Irrespective of how far they think the country has come toward achieving racial equality, eight-in-ten Americans say “a lot” or “some” additional improvement is needed to accomplish that goal.

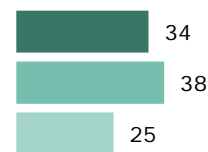
Even among the 45% of the country that believes much already has been done, about a third (34%) say a lot more progress is needed.

## Looking Forward, Looking Back

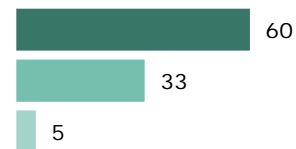
*% saying ... progress is needed in the future, based on how much progress has occurred in past 50 years*

- A lot more needed
- Some needed
- A little/nothing more needed

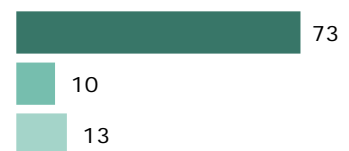
*% among those who say there has been a **lot** of progress in past 50 years*



*% among those who say there has been **some** progress in past 50 years*



*% among those who say there has been **little or no** progress in past 50 years*



Notes: Based on all adults, N=2,231. "Don't know/Refused" responses not shown.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Q2,3

That proportion rises to 60% among those who say some progress has been made and climbs to 73% among those who say only a little or no change has occurred.

Only about one-in-eight (13%) of those who see little or no progress in the past 50 years also say little or nothing still needs to be done.

### How Groups Are Getting Along

While relations between blacks, whites and Hispanics are not perfect, majorities of each group say they get along reasonably well.

About three-quarters of respondents think blacks and whites get along “very well” (13%) or “pretty well” (63%), according to the survey. Whites are somewhat more likely than blacks or Hispanics to say blacks and whites get along well (81% among whites vs. 73% among blacks and 60% among Hispanics).

About three-quarters of whites (77%) also say their group and Hispanics get along very well or fairly well, a view shared by a roughly equal share of Hispanics (74%). About two-thirds of all blacks (64%) also say the groups get along, though 12% say they do not know.

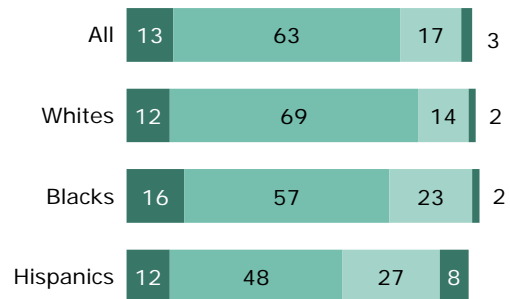
A small majority of Americans (54%) say blacks and Hispanics get along well, in part because one-in-six respondents—including 22% of whites—told interviewers they do not know enough about black-Hispanic relations to answer the question. Among blacks, about

### Intergroup Relations

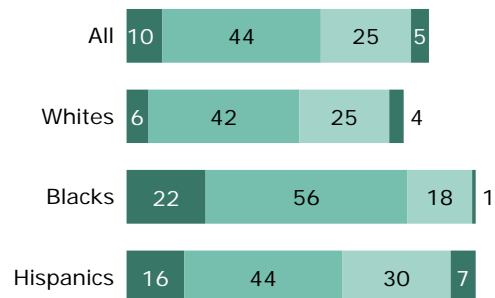
% who say these groups get along with each other ...

■ Very well ■ Pretty well ■ Not too well ■ Not at all well

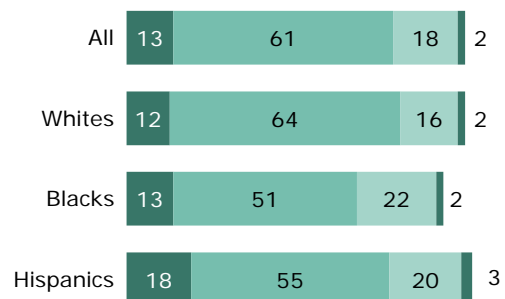
#### Blacks and Whites



#### Blacks and Hispanics



#### Whites and Hispanics



Notes: Blacks and whites include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics may be of any race. Based on all adults, N=2,231. "Don't know/Refused" responses not shown.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Q8a-c

eight-in-ten (78%) say the two groups get along well, a view echoed by 61% of Hispanics.

The survey suggests that overall perceptions of relations between blacks and whites have not changed since the question was last asked in a Pew Research Center survey conducted in November 2009. About three-quarters of all respondents in both surveys said that blacks and whites get along either very or pretty well.

At the same time, views on the relations between Hispanics and the two races have improved in recent years. Asked how well whites and Hispanics get along, the proportion saying these groups got along very or pretty well increased from 67% in 2009 to 74% in the latest survey. At the same time, the proportion who say blacks and Hispanics got along well rose from 48% to 54%.

### Treatment of Blacks by the Courts, Police Seen as Less Fair

From the courtroom to the classroom to the voting booth, blacks are consistently more likely than whites to say blacks in their community are treated less fairly by key institutions, according to the Pew Research Center survey.

Blacks are most likely to perceive unequal treatment by the court system and in their dealings with the police, the survey finds. And these are the two areas where sizable minorities of whites also see inequity. Nonetheless, there are still significant racial gaps.

According to the survey, seven-in-ten blacks say African Americans are treated less fairly than whites in their dealings with police. Some 37% of whites say

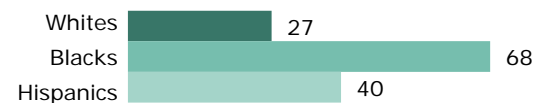
### Wide Racial Divides Persist over Fair Treatment of Blacks

*% saying blacks in their community are treated less fairly than whites ...*

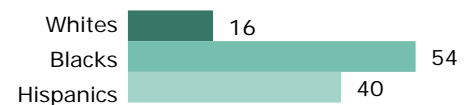
#### In dealing with the police



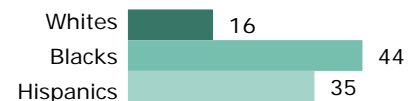
#### In the courts



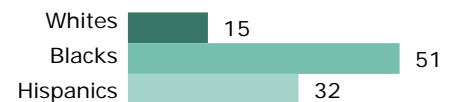
#### On the job or at work



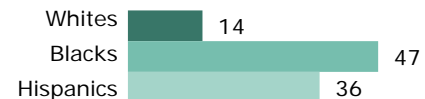
#### In stores or restaurants



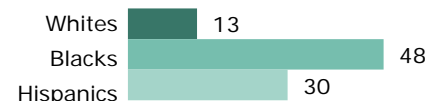
#### In local public schools



#### In getting health care



#### When voting in elections



Note: Blacks and whites include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics may be of any race. For whites, n=1,471; for blacks, n=376; for Hispanics, n=218.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Q13



blacks are treated less fairly in this realm and an additional 13% say they do not know.

Similarly, about seven-in-ten blacks (68%) say African Americans are not treated as fairly as whites by the courts. Roughly one-in-four whites (27%) agree with this assessment, and 16% of whites are unsure.

The racial gap persists when the focus turns to other types of local organizations. Some 54% of all blacks say blacks are not treated as fairly as whites on the job or at work. Among whites, only 16% express this view and an additional 12% have no opinion.

Roughly half of all blacks (51%) say public schools in their area treat blacks less fairly than whites; 15% of whites agree that that is the case. (Some 12% of blacks and whites said they do not know how blacks were treated in the schools.)

Blacks also are more likely than whites to say that black people are treated less fairly

while getting health care (47% vs. 14%), in stores and restaurants (44% vs. 16%), and when they vote in local elections (48% vs. 13%).

### Democrats See More Unfair Racial Treatment

*% saying blacks in their community treated less fairly than whites ...*

	All	Rep	Dem	Ind	R-D diff
In dealing with police	44	29	57	43	-27
In the courts	35	16	49	35	-34
On the job or work	25	15	34	23	-19
In stores or restaurants	23	16	30	23	-14
In local public schools	22	12	32	21	-20
In getting health care	21	12	29	21	-17
Voting in elections	20	11	32	17	-20

Note: Based on all adults, N=2,231. Differences computed before rounding.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Q13

Hispanics, while less likely than blacks to say blacks are treated less fairly, are more likely than whites to perceive unequal treatment of blacks. About half (51%) of Hispanics say blacks are treated unfairly in interactions with the police, with substantial minorities perceiving unfair treatment in other areas.

Younger people are more likely than others to say blacks are treated less fairly than whites in many of these areas. For example, while about half of those ages 18-29 (53%) say blacks are treated less fairly than whites by the police, that compares with only about a third (36%) of adults ages 65 and older. Some of the difference in perceptions about fair treatment may be attributable to racial composition, as younger Americans are more likely to be non-white than older Americans. But age differences on these questions are also apparent among whites (49%

of whites ages 18 to 29 say blacks are treated less fairly by the police, 32% of older whites say this).

Across-the-board, Democrats are more likely than Republicans or independents to say blacks in their community are treated less fairly than whites. Although 57% of Democrats say this about the police, that share drops to 43% of independents and just 29% of Republicans.

The perception that voting in elections is less fair for African Americans than whites—a political point of contention in recent months—also divides along partisan lines. While just 20% of the overall public says blacks are treated less fairly than whites when voting in elections, that rises to about a third of Democrats (32%), compared with only about one-in-ten Republicans (11%).

Although blacks (and other minorities) make up a larger share of Democrats than Republicans, the pattern of partisan differences on these questions persists even when controlling for race: White Democrats are significantly more likely than white Republicans to say blacks are treated less fairly in each of these areas.

## Personal Experiences of Discrimination

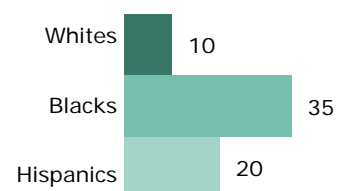
About a third (35%) of African Americans say they have personally experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly because of their race or ethnicity over the past year. That compares with 20% of Hispanics and 10% of whites.

Personal experiences with discrimination are associated with perceptions of unfair treatment. Blacks who have experienced discrimination over the past 12 months are more likely than others to say blacks are treated less fairly by local community institutions.

Blacks who have faced discrimination in the past year also are less likely than other blacks to say “a lot” of progress has been made toward racial equality (23% vs. 37%) and are significantly more likely to believe a lot more progress is necessary (87% vs. 74%).

### Personal Experience with Discrimination

*% who say they have experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly because of race or ethnicity in past 12 months*



Note: Blacks and whites include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics may be of any race. For whites, n=1,471; for blacks, n=376; for Hispanics, n=218.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Q14

## CHAPTER 2: PUBLIC SEES LESS SHORT-TERM PROGRESS FOR BLACKS

The sense of progress black Americans felt in 2009, on the heels of Barack Obama's historic election as president, seems to have reversed itself. Today, only about one-in-four (26%) say the situation of black people in this country is better now than it was five years ago, down sharply from 39% who said this in 2009. Nearly as many (21%) say the situation of black people is worse today, and 51% say it's about the same.

The positive feelings registered in 2009 among blacks represented one of the peaks in this long-term trend. Even in the face of the Great Recession, blacks seemed buoyed by the promise of an Obama presidency. This poll does not provide evidence as to what caused the downward shift in opinions about black progress. However, the fading glow of Obama's first term and the lingering effects of the recession are likely to have been important factors.

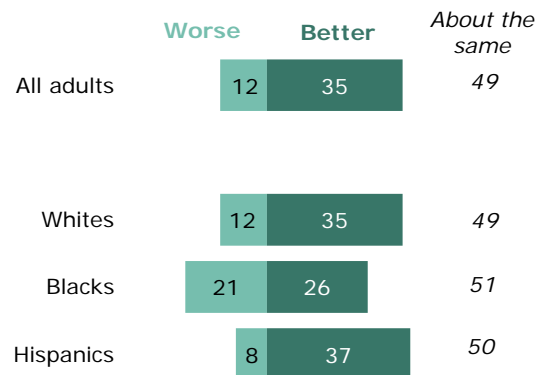
Whites have a somewhat different view of black progress than do blacks themselves. Some 35% of whites say that compared with five years ago, the situation of black people in this country today is better. Only 12% say the situation of African Americans is worse today, and 49% say it's about the same. Hispanics' views on the situation of blacks today are similar to those of whites: 37% of Hispanics say blacks are better off today than they were five years ago, 8% say things are worse for African Americans and 50% say things are about the same.

While whites have a more positive view of black progress, the trajectory of opinion for whites and blacks has been similar over time. The gap in opinion remained fairly consistent until 2009, when it narrowed considerably.

The gap in views between whites and blacks was widest in 1984, when the Gallup Organization first asked this question. At that time, 68% of white adults said blacks were in a better situation than they had been five years earlier. Only 4% said the situation of blacks was worse at that

### Are Things Better or Worse for Blacks Today?

*% saying the situation of black people in this country is ... today compared with five years ago*



Note: Based on all adults, N=2,231. "Don't know/Refused" responses not shown.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Q9

time than it had been five years prior. The sense that African Americans were making progress in 1984 may have been connected to Jesse Jackson's first run for president—a historic occurrence for both blacks and whites. Meanwhile, only 37% of blacks in 1984 thought that black people were in a better situation at that time than they had been five years earlier, and 30% said the situation of blacks was worse than it had been five years earlier.

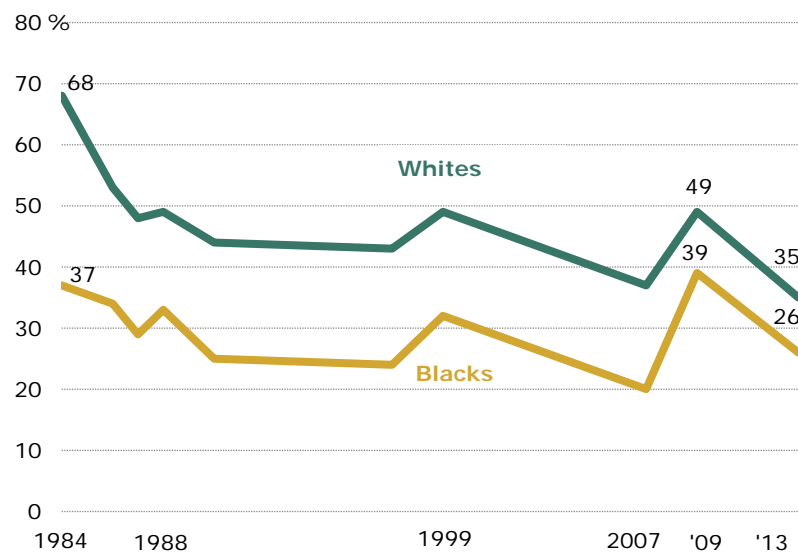
From 1986 to 1999, the assessments of whites and blacks with regard to black progress remained fairly consistent, as did the black-white gap in opinion. A dramatic spike upward occurred between 2007 and 2009, with both whites and blacks expressing much more positive views about African American progress in 2009 than they had two years earlier. At the time, the sharp change in opinion was attributed to Obama's election as well as [improved assessments of race relations](#).

In the most recent Pew Research survey, the share of both whites and blacks who

see short-term progress for black Americans is down significantly from the 2009 levels. For whites, the current share (35%) saying the situation of African Americans is better than it was five years ago is similar to what it was in 2007 and lower than it had been in the mid-1980s and 1990s. For blacks, the share saying blacks are better off today (26%) has returned to roughly where it was prior to Obama's election.

### Blacks and Whites Now Less Positive About Black Progress

% saying the situation of black people in this country today is better today, compared with five years ago



Source: Data from 2007-2013 are from Pew Research Center surveys; data from 1984-1997 are from the Gallup Organization; data from 1999 are from Newsweek.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Q9

Today opinions about black progress vary considerably by educational attainment among blacks. This was not the case in 2009. In the latest survey, blacks with some college experience have a much more negative assessment of the situation of African Americans today compared with blacks who have no formal education beyond high school. Among blacks who have attended at least some college, only 20% say the situation of African-American people in this country is better today than it was five years ago. Among those with a high school education or less, roughly one-third (32%) say things are better today.

In 2009, there was virtually no gap on this measure between college-educated blacks and those with a high school diploma or less. Roughly four-in-ten from each group said things were better for blacks in 2009 than they had been five years earlier.

Whites' views of black progress do not differ by education in the 2013 survey, nor did they in 2009. In each year nearly identical shares of college-educated whites and those with a high school education or less said that blacks were better off than they had been five years earlier.

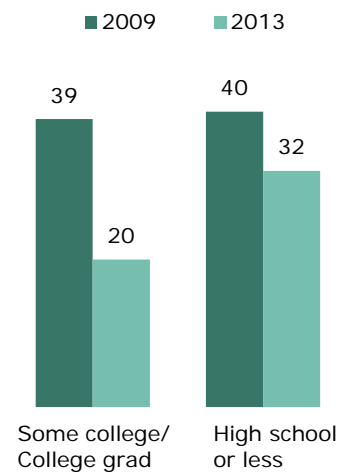
## Blacks, Whites and Financial Well-Being

In real terms, blacks lag behind whites in several key economic indicators. The median annual household income for black households of three in 2011 was significantly below that of whites. Blacks were nearly three times as likely as whites to be living in poverty. And the median net worth of white households was 14 times the median net worth of black households.

This reality is not lost on the public. When asked in the new survey whether the average black person is better off, worse off or about as well off as the average white person in terms of income and overall financial situation, only one-in-ten adults say the average African American is better off. Roughly four-in-ten adults (41%) say the average African American is worse off than the average white person, and the same share says the average black person is about as well off.

### Assessments of Black Progress Drop More Sharply Among College Educated

*% of blacks saying the situation of black people in this country is better today than five years earlier*



Notes: Based on blacks only; for 2013, n=376.

Source: 2009 data are from a Pew Research Center survey (Oct. 28-Nov. 30, 2009, N=2,884 adults, including 812 blacks)

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Q9

Blacks and whites have different assessments of the economic well-being of blacks today. Black adults are much more likely than whites to say the average black person is worse off financially than the average white person (59% vs. 39%). Whites, meanwhile, are more likely than blacks to say the average black person is about as well off as the average white person (43% vs. 27%).

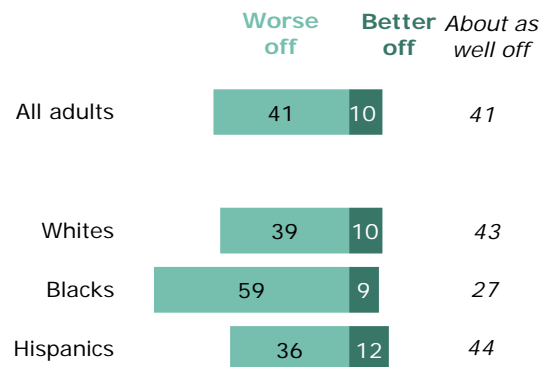
The views of Hispanics are similar to those of whites when it comes to the financial situation of blacks today. Some 36% of Hispanic adults say the average black person is worse off financially than the average white person, 12% say better off and 44% say the average black person is about as well off as the average white person.

Educational attainment and income levels are closely related to perceptions about blacks' financial well-being relative to whites. And this is true among both blacks and whites. Higher-income blacks and whites are more likely than those with lower annual incomes to say that the average black person is worse off financially than the average white person. Similarly, those with higher levels of educational attainment are more likely than their less-educated counterparts to say that blacks are worse off than whites.

Among African Americans with annual family incomes of \$75,000 or more, 79% say the average black person is worse off than the average white person in terms of overall financial situation. Among those with annual incomes less than \$75,000, 56% say the same. Lower-income African Americans are more likely than those with higher incomes to say the average black person is about as well off as the average white person (31% vs. 16%).

## Perceptions About the Financial Situation of Blacks

*% saying the average black person is ... than the average white person in terms of income and overall financial situation*



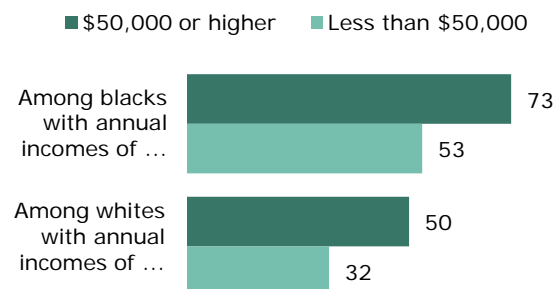
Notes: Based on all adults, N=2,231. "Don't know/Refused" responses not shown.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Q12

## More Affluent Blacks and Whites See Blacks Struggling Financially

*% saying the average black person is worse off than the average white person in terms of income and overall financial situation*



Note: Based on blacks (n=376) and whites (n=1,471) only.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Q12

The pattern is similar among whites. About half (52%) of whites with annual family incomes of \$75,000 or more say the average black person is worse off financially than the average white person. This compares with only 35% of whites with annual incomes of less than \$75,000 who say that. Lower-income whites are more likely than those with higher incomes to say blacks are about as well off as whites when it comes to their financial situation (47% vs. 33%).

Among both blacks and whites, those with higher levels of education are more likely than those with less education to say that the average black person is worse off financially compared with the average white person. Fully 75% of blacks who have attended college say this, compared with 42% of those with a high school education or less. Similarly, 47% of whites with at least some college education say the average black person is worse off than the average white person in terms of their financial situation. Only 26% of whites who have not attended college say the same.

## CHAPTER 3: DEMOGRAPHIC & ECONOMIC DATA, BY RACE

This section looks at a variety of economic, educational, health, political and social indicators to assess change in the relative well-being of black and white Americans in recent decades.

The data present a mixed picture. The economic gulf between blacks and whites that was present a half century ago has not disappeared. Measures of household income, household wealth, and homeownership show that the gaps are as wide or wider today as they were in the 1960s and 1970s. The incarceration rate of black men is more than six times higher than that of white men, slightly larger than the gap in 1960.

There are also large and widening gaps between blacks and whites in key aspects of family formation. The falloff in marriage rates has been much steeper among African Americans than among whites. The share of births to unmarried women has risen sharply among both groups; however, the rate among blacks is more than double that among whites.

On the other hand, blacks have made progress relative to whites in other important realms. The gap in high school completion between blacks and whites has narrowed, as has the white-black gap in life expectancy. And, while blacks had lagged behind whites in voter participation for most of the past half century, turnout among blacks nearly matched that of whites in the 2008 presidential elections and surpassed it in 2012.



## Income

The median household income<sup>2</sup> for whites was \$67,175 in 2011, as reported in the Census Bureau's March 2012 Current Population Survey. For blacks, it was \$39,760; for Asians, \$68,521; and Hispanics \$40,007.

Black and white incomes have risen since the late 1960s, but both have declined since 2007, the year that marked the beginning of the Great Recession. Since the 1960s the difference in black and white incomes grew from about \$19,000 in 1967 to roughly \$27,000 in 2011.

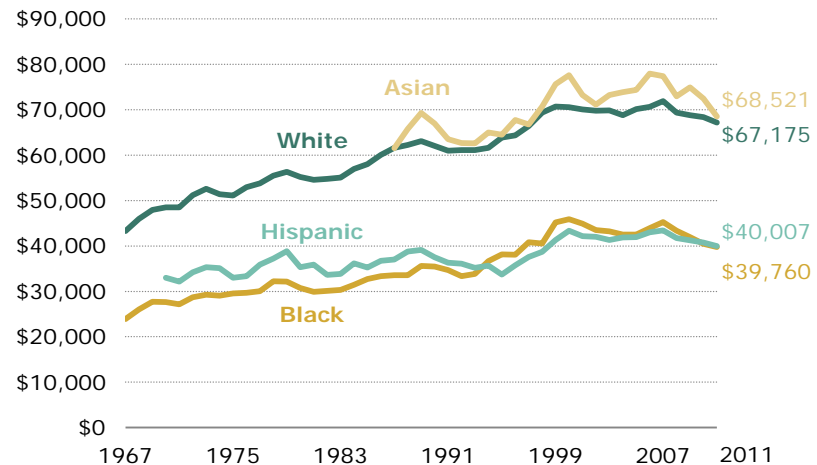
The median black household income in 2011 was 59% of median white household

income. This represents a modest increase from 1967, when median black income was 55% of white income. Since then, black income has ranged from 54% of white incomes to 65% (in 2000, during a period of economic growth and low unemployment). The racial income gap has increased somewhat since 2007, when black income was 63% of white income.

The income gap between whites and Hispanics has widened since 1970, when Hispanic median household income was 68% that of whites. In 2011, Hispanic income was 60% of white income, a gap that has not changed since 2007. Comparative income data for Asians is available only

### Median Adjusted Household Income by Race/Ethnicity of Householder, 1967-2011

in 2012 dollars



Note: White, black and Asian householders include only those who reported a single race. Native Americans and mixed-race groups not shown. Data for whites, blacks and Asians from 1971 to 2011 include only non-Hispanics. Data for whites and blacks prior to 1970 include Hispanics. Comparable data for Hispanics not available prior to 1970. Data for Asians not available prior to 1987. Asians include Pacific Islanders. Income standardized to a household size of three. For details, see <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2011/11/07/the-rising-age-gap-in-economic-well-being/4/#appendix-a-data-sources-and-methodologyappendix>.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement (IPUMS)

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

<sup>2</sup> All household income statistics are adjusted so that they are in 2012 dollars and are scaled to a three-person household to account for differences in household size. For details, see <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2011/11/07/the-rising-age-gap-in-economic-well-being/4/#appendix-a-data-sources-and-methodology>.

since 1987, when Asian income was about equal to white income. In 2011, Asian income was 102% of white income.

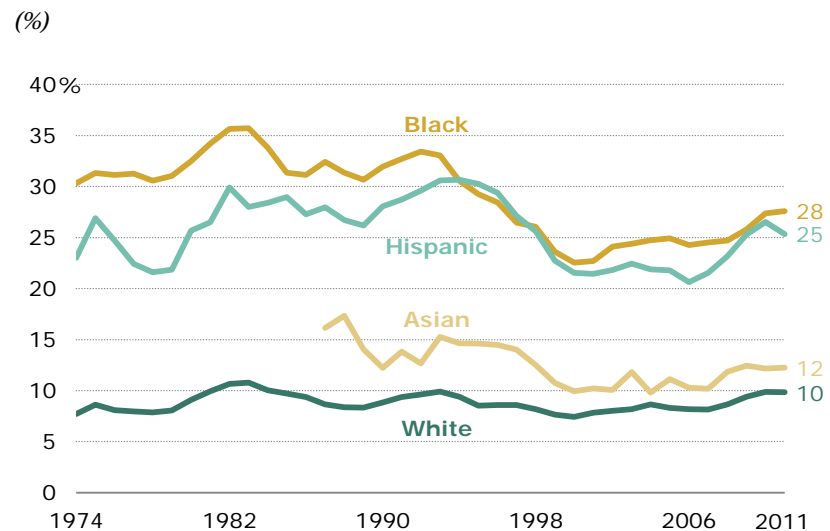
## Poverty

Black Americans are nearly three times as likely as white Americans to live in poverty, according to the 2012 March Current Population Survey.<sup>3</sup> Among whites, 10% were poor in 2011, compared with 28% of blacks, 25% of Hispanics and 12% of Asians.

Looking at trends, the black-white poverty gap remains wide, although it has narrowed somewhat since the mid-1970s, as white poverty rose slightly and black poverty declined slightly. In 1974, 8% of whites were poor but so were 30% of blacks. The black-white gap has not changed markedly since 2007.

The Hispanic-white poverty gap has narrowed somewhat since 1974, when Hispanic poverty was 3.0 times white poverty, compared with 2.6 times in 2011. The Asian-white poverty gap has also narrowed somewhat; Asians are 1.2 times as likely as whites to be in poverty now, compared with 1.9 times as likely in 1987, the first year for which data became available.

### Persons in Poverty by Race/Ethnicity, 1974-2011



Note: For 2002-2011, whites, blacks and Asians include only persons who reported a single race; for 2001 and earlier years, respondents (including those who may be of more than one race) were allowed to report only one race group. Blacks and Asians include Hispanics for all years. Asians include Pacific Islanders prior to 2002. Data for Asians not available prior to 1987. Native Americans and other groups not shown.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau Historical Poverty Statistics  
<http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/data/historical/people.html> Table 2

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

<sup>3</sup> These findings are based on data collected by the U.S. Census Bureau. The Census Bureau uses a set of money income thresholds that vary by family size and composition to determine who is in poverty. If a family's total income is less than the family's threshold, then that family and every individual in it is considered in poverty. The official poverty thresholds do not vary geographically, but they are updated for inflation using Consumer Price Index (CPI-U). The official poverty definition uses money income before taxes and does not include capital gains or noncash benefits (such as public housing, Medicaid, and food stamps).

## Wealth

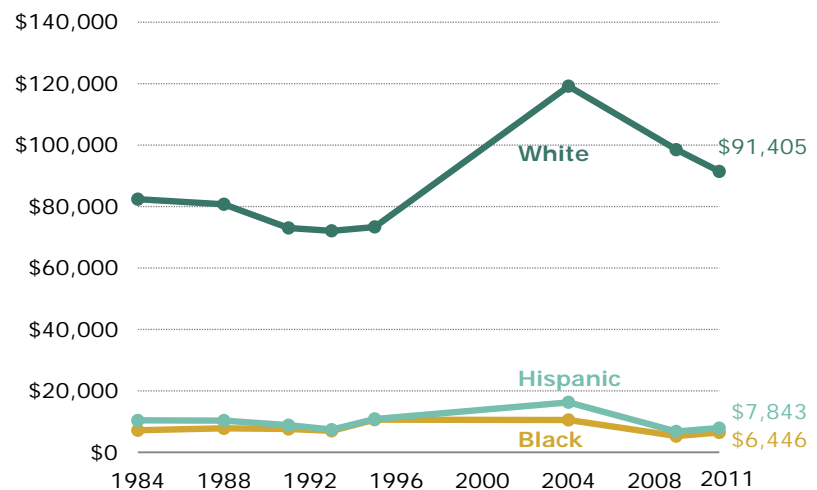
In 2011, the typical white household had a net worth of \$91,405, compared with \$6,446 for black households, \$7,843 for Hispanic households and \$91,203 for Asian households. The figures for net worth—also known as wealth—are based on assets minus liabilities in Census Bureau data from the Survey of Income and Program Participation.

The gap between black and white wealth has grown somewhat since 1984, the first year for which data became available. In 1984, black households had a median net worth equal to 9% that of white households, compared with 7% in 2011. The gap narrowed somewhat in the 1990s: In 1995, black net worth was 14% of white net worth.

Hispanic net worth also is notably smaller than white net worth, and the gap has widened over time. In 1984, the typical Hispanic household had 13% of the wealth of the typical white household. In 2011, the typical Hispanic household had 9% of the wealth of the typical white household. Figures for Asian wealth are available only since 2004; in 2011, the typical Asian and white households had about equal net worth.

### Median Net Worth of Households, by Race/Ethnicity, 1984 to 2011

*In 2012 dollars*



Note: White and black householders include only persons who reported a single race. Native Americans and mixed-race groups not shown. Blacks and whites include Hispanics.

Sources: Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP). For 1984 to 2004: various U.S. Census Bureau P-70 Current Population Reports. For 2009 and 2011 U.S. Census Bureau net worth tables: <http://www.census.gov/people/wealth/>

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## Homeownership

In 2012, 73% of white households owned their own homes, compared with 44% of black households, 57% of Asian households and 46% of Hispanic households, according to the Census Bureau's Annual Social and Economic Supplement.

In 2012, black homeownership levels were 60% of white levels. The size of the white-black homeownership gap has fluctuated since 1976, when the black rate was 64% of the white rate. The gap narrowed through the mid-1980s, widened through the mid-1990s, narrowed again,

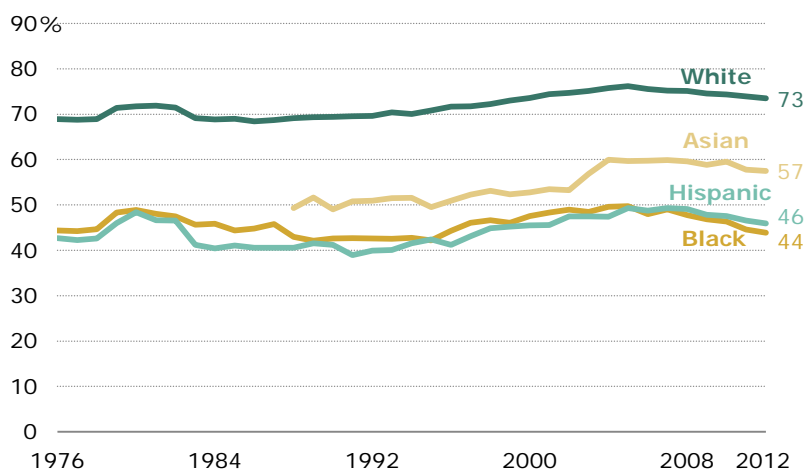
and widened after the onset of the Great Recession in 2007. The black homeownership rate in 2012 is no different from what it was in 1976, but the white rate has risen somewhat, contributing to a modest growth of the black-white gap in homeownership rates.

The Hispanic-white gap in 2012 is about what it was in 1976, when the Hispanic rate was 62% of the white rate (in 2012, it was 63% of the white rate). The gap widened in the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s, in concert with a wave of Latino immigration, then it narrowed again. The gap has grown somewhat since 2007, when Hispanic homeownership was 66% of white homeownership.

Data on Asian homeownership, available since 1988, indicate that the Asian-white gap has narrowed since then. In 2012, the Asian homeownership rate was 78% of the white rate; in 1988, it was 71%.

### Homeownership by Race/Ethnicity, 1976-2012

% of householders owning home



Note: White, black and Asian householders include only non-Hispanics who reported a single race. Native Americans and mixed-race groups not shown. Data for Asians not available prior to 1988. Asians include Pacific Islanders.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement (IPUMS)

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## Education

Today's high school completion rates are similar for adults ages 25 and older who are white, black or Asian, but they lag for Hispanics. In 2012, 92% of white adults, 86% of black adults and 89% of Asian adults had at least a high school education, as did 65% of Hispanic adults.

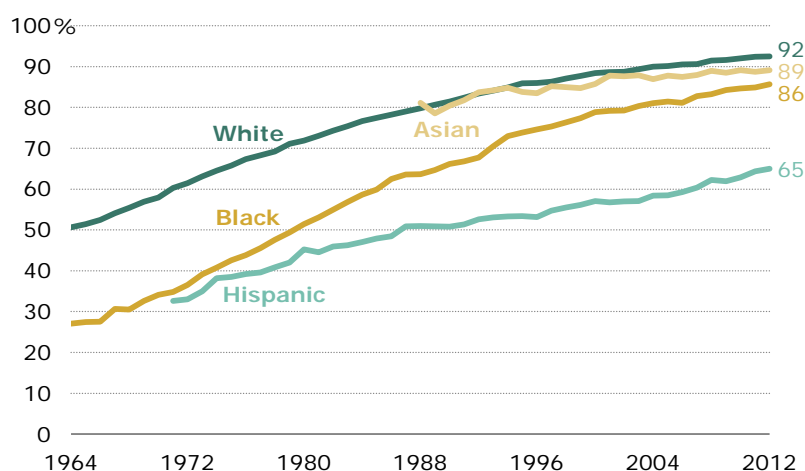
High school completion rates have climbed for all four groups in recent decades, according to the Current Population Survey, but more sharply for blacks and Hispanics than for whites, so those two groups have narrowed the attainment gap with whites.

In 1964, the year after the March on Washington, 51% of whites had completed high school, compared with 27% of blacks. The black high school completion rate was 53% that of the white rate. In 2007, the black rate was 91% that of the white rate. By 2012, the black high school completion rate was 93% that of the white rate.

The Hispanic high school completion rate is well behind the white rate, but the gap has narrowed since 1971, when data became available. In 2012, the Hispanic rate was 70% that of the white rate. In 1971, when only 33% of Hispanic adults had completed high school, the Latino high school completion rate was 54% that of the white rate.

### High School Completion by Race/Ethnicity, 1964-2012

% of adults age 25 and older



Note: White, black and Asian adults include only those who reported a single race. Native Americans and mixed-race groups not shown. Data for whites, blacks and Asians from 1971 to 2011 include only non-Hispanics. Data for whites and blacks prior to 1971 include Hispanics. Comparable data for Hispanics not available prior to 1971. Data for Asians not available prior to 1988. Asians include Pacific Islanders. Before 1992 refers to those who completed at least 12 years of school. For 1992-2012 refers to those who have at least a high school diploma or its equivalent.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement (IPUMS)

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

The Asian high school completion rate in 2012 was 96% that of the white rate, nearly equal. Since 1988, when data for Asians became available, Asians have equaled or nearly equaled white high school completion rates.

Looking at adults ages 25 and older, the gap in college completion between whites and blacks, as well as the gap between whites and Hispanics, is larger than that in high school completion. In 2012, 34% of white adults had finished college, compared with 21% of black adults and 15% of Hispanic adults. Among Asians, 51% had completed college, a higher share than for whites.

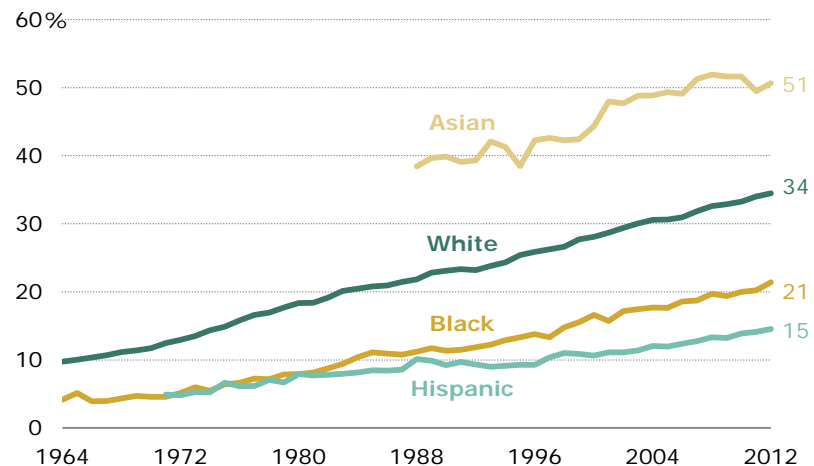
The black-white gap generally has narrowed over time, with some peaks and valleys. In 2012, the black college completion rate was 62% that of the white rate, compared with 42% in 1964. The 2012 gap is slightly narrower than in 2007,

when the black college completion rate was 59% that of the white rate. Expressed a different way, the difference in the percentage of blacks and whites who completed a bachelor's degree about doubled during that time, from 6 percentage points in 1964 when 4% of blacks and 10% of whites had completed college to 13 points in 2012.

The Hispanic-white gap has changed little since 1971, when data for Hispanics became available. In 2012, the Hispanic college completion rate was 42% that of the white rate. In 1971, when 5% of Hispanics had completed college and 12% of whites had, the Hispanic rate was 39% that of the white rate.

### College Completion by Race/Ethnicity, 1964-2012

% of adults age 25 and older



Note: White, black and Asian adults include only those who reported a single race. Native Americans and mixed-race groups not shown. Data for whites, blacks and Asians from 1971 to 2011 include only non-Hispanics. Data for whites and blacks prior to 1971 include Hispanics. Comparable data for Hispanics not available prior to 1971. Data for Asians not available prior to 1988. Asians include Pacific Islanders. Before 1992 refers to those who completed at least 16 years of school. For 1992-2012 refers to those who have at least a bachelor's degree.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement (IPUMS)

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

The Asian college completion rate has exceeded the white rate since data for Asians became available in 1988. That year, the Asian rate was 176% that of the white rate; in 2012, it was 147% of the white rate of college completion.

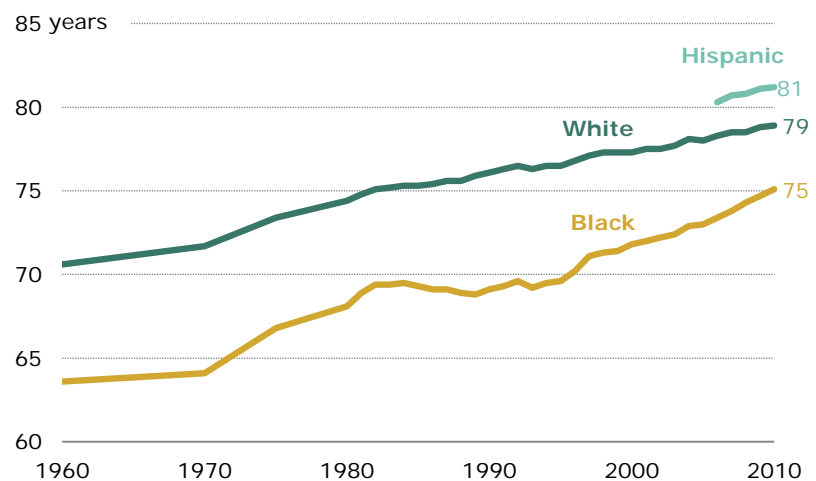
## Life Expectancy

White life expectancy at birth exceeds black life expectancy at birth by nearly four years, according to data from the National Center for Health Statistics. A white baby born in 2010 could expect to live to 78.9 years of age, while a black baby could expect to live 75.1 years.<sup>4</sup>

The gap in black and white life expectancy has narrowed somewhat since 1960. In that year, white life expectancy at birth was 70.6 years, and black life expectancy at birth was 63.6 years, a disparity of seven years. Thus, black life expectancy at birth was 90% of that for whites in 1960 and 95% in 2010.

### Life Expectancy at Birth, by Race/Ethnicity, 1960-2010

*In years*



Notes: Data for all years include Hispanics. After 2002, black and white include single-race responses only. For 1960, black includes all races other than white. The 1960 data include deaths of persons who were not residents of the 50 states and the District of Columbia.

Source: *Health, United States 2012*, National Center for Health Statistics  
[www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/abus/abus12.pdf](http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/abus/abus12.pdf)

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Data for Hispanic life expectancy are more limited because of a variety of data quality issues.<sup>5</sup> Hispanic life expectancy at birth in 2006, the earliest year available from the National Center for Health Statistics, was higher than white life expectancy, and it remained so in 2010.

<sup>4</sup> The data for whites and blacks include Hispanics, because non-Hispanic data are unavailable before 2006. For 2010, if Hispanics are excluded, whites had a life expectancy at birth of 78.8 years, and blacks of 74.7 years. Hispanic life expectancy at birth in 2010 was 81.2 years.

<sup>5</sup> For discussion of these data quality issues, see National Center for Health Statistics, Vital and Health Statistics (2008), "The Validity of Race and Hispanic Origin Reporting on Death Certificates in the United States," series 2, no. 148.

[http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/series/sr\\_02/sr02\\_148.pdf](http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/series/sr_02/sr02_148.pdf)

## Voter Turnout

Census Bureau estimates of voter turnout by race indicate that black voters have not only closed the gap with white voters in participation, but they exceeded whites on this measure in the 2012 presidential election. In 2012, 67% of eligible black voters cast ballots, compared with 64% of eligible white voters.

By contrast, in the 1964 presidential election, an estimated 71% of eligible white voters participated, compared with 59% of black voters.<sup>6</sup> The size of the gap in black and white voter participation has fluctuated since then, with black participation ranging from 79% to 87% of white participation through 1996.

In 2000, the black participation rate was 92% that of the white rate. The gap narrowed dramatically to 99%

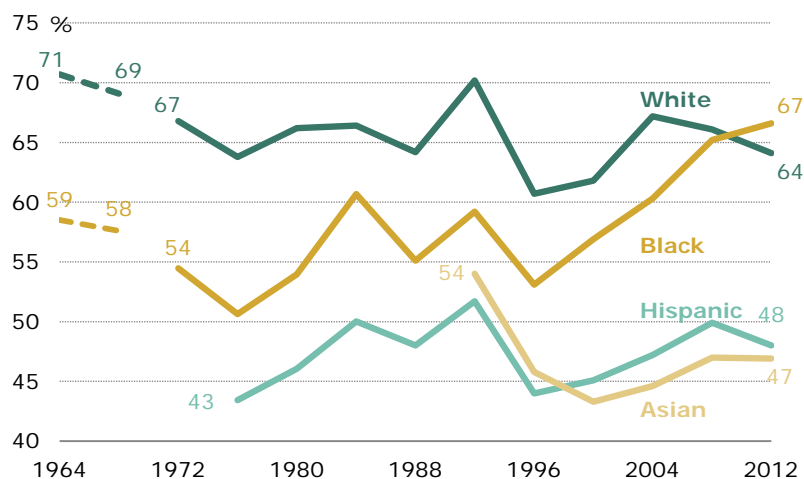
in 2008, the year Barack Obama ran for president as the first black major-party nominee. In 2008, 65% of black eligible voters participated, compared with 66% of whites.

Estimates for Hispanic participation are available back to 1976, when 43% of eligible Latino voters cast ballots, compared with 64% of white eligible voters. Hispanic participation rose to 48% in 2012, while white participation remained at 64%. Hispanic participation was 68% of white participation in 1976, and 75% of white participation in 2012.

Voting estimates are available for Asians dating back to 1992, when 54% of eligible Asian-Americans cast ballots, compared with 70% of whites. (The 70% white rate was the highest

### Voter Turnout, by Race/Ethnicity, 1964-2012

% of eligible voters (unless otherwise specified)



Note: Eligible voters are U.S. citizens ages 18 and older. The estimated number of votes cast is based on individual voting self-reports. White, black and Asian populations include only non-Hispanics who reported a single race. Native Americans and mixed-race groups not shown. The 1964 data for blacks includes other races. Data for whites and blacks prior to 1976 include Hispanics. Comparable data for Hispanics not available prior to 1974. Data for Asians not available prior to 1990. Prior to 1972, those ages 18-20 were not eligible to vote and data show the percentage of the voting-age population (ages 21 and older) that voted since data on the U.S. citizenship status of survey respondents are not available.

Source: For 1972-2012, Pew Research Center tabulations from the Current Population Survey, November Supplements. For 1964-1968, U.S. Census Bureau, Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2000, February 2002.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

<sup>6</sup> Census Bureau 1964 participation estimates for blacks also included eligible voters of other races, who accounted for approximately 1% of the U.S. voting-age population that year.



estimated participation rate since 1964.) Voter participation rates declined for Asian Americans in 2012, to 47%. Asian-American voter participation was 73% that of white participation in 2012, compared with 77% in 1992.

## Marriage and Births

Marriage is considered an indicator of well-being in part because married adults are economically better off, although that may reflect the greater propensity of affluent adults to marry.

In 2011, 55% of white adults ages 18 and older were married, compared with 31% of black adults ages 18 and older, according to Census Bureau statistics. Thus, the marriage rate for black adults was 56% that of the white rate.

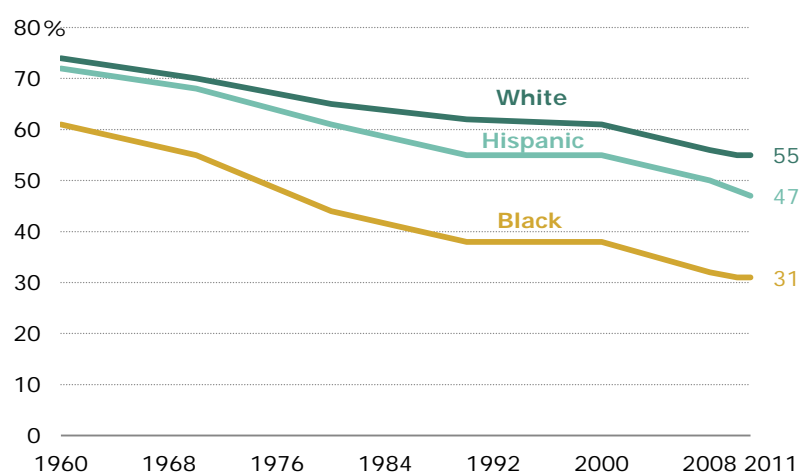
Marriage rates have fallen for all groups, but more sharply for blacks than for whites. In 1960, 74% of white adults were married, as were 61% of black adults. In that year, the marriage rate for black adults was 82% that of the white rate.

To some extent, the differences reflect a widening gap in the marriage rate by educational attainment. In 1960, marriage rates were similar for well-educated and less-educated Americans, but these days college graduates are markedly more likely to be married than those with a high school diploma or less.

In 1960, 72% of Hispanic adults were married, similar to the rate for white adults. In 2011, 47% of Hispanic adults were married, 85% of the marriage rate for white adults that year. The share of births to unmarried parents also has risen for all groups, accounting for 41% of births in 2011, according to the National Center for Health Statistics. In 2011, 72% of black

### Marriage Rate by Race/Ethnicity, 1960-2011

*% currently married among adults ages 18 and older*



Note: White and black adults include only those who reported a single race. Asians, Native Americans and mixed-race groups not shown.

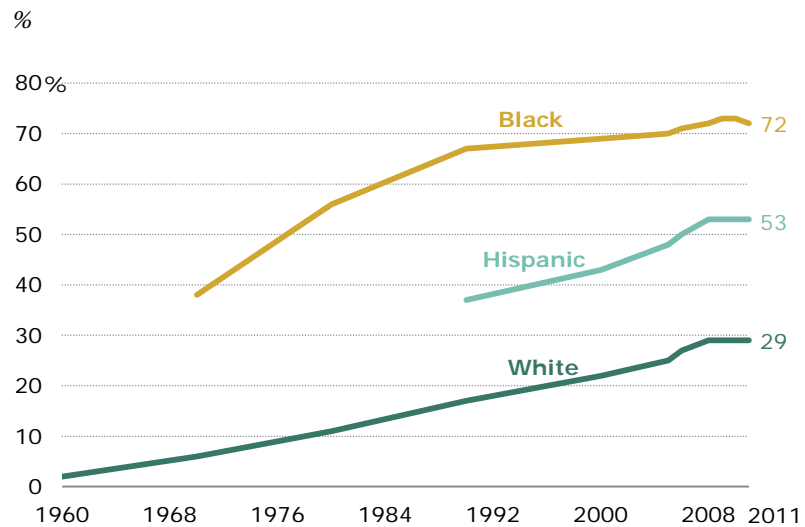
Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of 1960-2000 Decennial Census and the American Community Survey (IPUMS)

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

mothers who gave birth were unmarried, compared with 29% of white mothers. The share of black mothers who were unmarried was about two and a half times the share of white mothers.

In 1970, 38% of black mothers who gave birth were unmarried, compared with 6% of white mothers. The share of black mothers who were unmarried was more than six times the share of white mothers.

### Share of Births to Unmarried Women, by Race/Ethnicity, 1960-2011



Notes: Based on births to persons of all ages. Hispanics are of any race. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics.

Source: For data from 1990 and later, statistics calculated using National Center for Health Statistics data. For years prior to 1990, data obtained from Ventura, Stephanie J., and Christine A. Bachrach. Nonmarital childbearing in the United States, 1940-1999. National Vital Statistics Reports; vol. 48 no. 16. Hyattsville, Maryland: National Center for Health Statistics.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## Incarceration

In 2010, the incarceration rate for white men under local, state and federal jurisdiction was 678 inmates per 100,000 white U.S. residents; for black men, it was 4,347. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, black men were more than six times as likely as white men to be incarcerated in 2010.

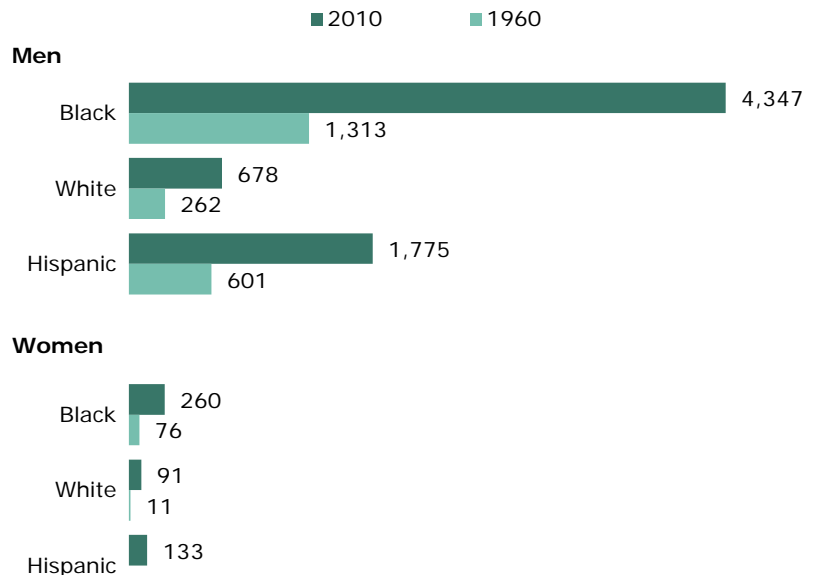
In 1960, the white male incarceration rate was 262 per 100,000 white U.S. residents, and the black male rate was 1,313, meaning that black men were five times as likely as white men to be incarcerated.

The incarceration rate for Hispanic men in 2010 was 1,775 per 100,000 U.S. Hispanic residents; in 1960, it was 601. In other words, Hispanic men were nearly three times as likely as white men to be incarcerated in 2010 (1,775 versus 678 respectively), and somewhat more than twice as likely in 1960 (601 versus 262 respectively).

Statistics for female prisoners show a similar pattern but a different trend. Black women are more likely to be incarcerated than white women, but the gap between both groups is smaller than it was. In 2010, the incarceration rate for white women was 91 per 100,000 white residents; for black women it was 260. In 1960, the white rate was 11, and the black rate was 76.

### Incarceration Rates, 1960 and 2010

*Inmates per 100,000 U.S. residents*



Note: Incarceration rates are for total prisoners in local, state and federal correctional facilities. Total prisoners includes persons under age 18. Hispanics are of any race. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. In 2010, whites and blacks include only those who reported a single race. Asians, Native Americans and mixed-race groups not shown. A figure for Hispanic women in 1960 is not shown due to small sample size.

Source: For 1960, Pew Research Center analysis of Decennial Census data (IPUMS); for 2010, Bureau of Justice Statistics data <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cpus10.pdf>

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## APPENDIX 1: ABOUT THE SURVEY DATA

The survey findings presented in this report are based on telephone interviews conducted Aug. 1-11, 2013, among a nationally representative sample of 2,231 adults living in the continental United States. Telephone interviews were conducted by landline (1,079) and cell phone (1,152, including 578 without a landline telephone). The survey was conducted in two waves: the first from Aug. 1-4, 2013, the second from Aug. 8-11, 2013. The surveys were conducted by interviewers at Princeton Data Source under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International (PSRAI). A combination of landline and cell phone random digit dial samples were used; samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who was currently at home. Interviews in the cell sample were conducted with the person who answered the phone, if that person was an adult 18 years of age or older. In addition to this base sample, 144 interviews were conducted with African Americans by dialing recently interviewed households from PSRAI's weekly omnibus surveys. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see:

<http://people-press.org/methodology/>.

A three-stage weighting procedure was used to weight this dual frame sample. The first stage of weighting corrected for different probabilities of selection associated with the number of adults in each household and each respondent's telephone usage patterns. The second stage of weighting corrected for the oversampling of African Americans from the callback sample. The third and final stage of weighting balances the sample demographics to population parameters using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and region to parameters from the 2011 Census Bureau's American Community Survey and population density to parameters from the Decennial Census.

The sample also is weighted to match current patterns of telephone status, based on extrapolations from the 2012 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample and adjusts for household size among respondents with a landline phone. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting.

The following table shows the unweighted sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

---

**Total Sample and Subgroup Margins of Sampling Error**

Group	Sample size	Margin of error
Total sample	2,231	2.5 percentage points
White, non-Hispanic	1,471	3.0 percentage points
Black, non-Hispanic	376	6.0 percentage points
Hispanic	218	7.9 percentage points

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

---

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

## APPENDIX 2: TOPLINE QUESTIONNAIRE

### PEW RESEARCH CENTER MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. - RACE SURVEY

#### FINAL TOPLINE

AUG. 1-11, 2013

TOTAL N=2,231 (NON-HISPANIC WHITES N=1,471; NON-HISPANIC BLACKS N=376; HISPANICS N=218)

**NOTE: ALL NUMBERS ARE PERCENTAGES. THE PERCENTAGES GREATER THAN ZERO BUT LESS THAN 0.5 % ARE REPLACED BY AN ASTERISK (\*). COLUMNS/ROWS MAY NOT TOTAL 100% DUE TO ROUNDING. UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED, ALL TRENDS REFERENCE SURVEYS FROM SOCIAL & DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND THE PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS.**

**EXCEPT WHERE NOTED, WHITES INCLUDE ONLY NON-HISPANIC WHITES, BLACKS INCLUDE ONLY NON-HISPANIC BLACKS, AND HISPANICS ARE OF ANY RACE.**

#### ASK ALL:

PEW.1 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your community as a place to live in?

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
All Adults	89	9	1
<i>Whites</i>	92	7	1
<i>Blacks</i>	82	16	2
<i>Hispanics</i>	88	11	2

#### Trends:

All Adults			
Aug 2013	89	9	1
Nov 2009	89	10	1
Sep 2007	87	11	2
<i>Whites</i>			
Aug 2013	92	7	1
Nov 2009	90	8	1
Sep 2007	89	9	2
<i>Blacks</i>			
Aug 2013	82	16	2
Nov 2009	81	18	1
Sep 2007	77	20	3
<i>Hispanics</i>			
Aug 2013	88	11	2
Nov 2009	88	10	2
Sep 2007	84	13	3

**ASK ALL:**

As you may know, Martin Luther King Jr. gave his “I Have a Dream Speech” at a civil rights march in Washington almost 50 years ago...

PEW.2 Overall, how much progress toward Martin Luther King’s dream of racial equality do you think the U.S. has made over the last 50 years? **[READ IN ORDER]**

	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>A little</u>	<u>None at all</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
All Adults	45	36	12	4	3
<i>Whites</i>	48	38	9	2	3
<i>Blacks</i>	32	39	22	5	1
<i>Hispanics</i>	43	28	17	6	6

**ASK ALL:**

PEW.3 And how much more needs to be done in order to achieve Martin Luther King’s dream of racial equality? **[READ IN ORDER]**

	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>A little</u>	<u>None at all</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
All Adults	49	31	10	6	4
<i>Whites</i>	44	35	10	7	4
<i>Blacks</i>	79	12	7	1	1
<i>Hispanics</i>	48	29	11	4	8

**NO PEW.4-PEW.5; PEW.6-PEW.7 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED.**

**ASK ALL:**

Now I have some questions about how some groups in our society get along ...

PEW.8 In general, how well do you think **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** get along with each other these days—would you say very well, pretty well, not too well, or not at all well? What about how well **[NEXT ITEM]** get along? **[IF NECESSARY: Just in general, do [ITEM] get along very well, pretty well, not too well, or not at all well these days?]**

a. Whites and Hispanics

	<u>Very well</u>	<u>Pretty well</u>	<u>Not too well</u>	<u>Not at all well</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
All Adults	13	61	18	2	6
<i>Whites</i>	12	64	16	2	5
<i>Blacks</i>	13	51	22	2	12
<i>Hispanics</i>	18	55	20	3	3

**Trends:**

All Adults					
Aug 2013	13	61	18	2	6
Nov 2009	11	56	22	3	8
Sep 2007	15	53	19	3	10
<i>Whites</i>					
Aug 2013	12	64	16	2	5
Nov 2009	10	61	20	2	7
Sep 2007	13	57	18	3	9

**PEW.8a TRENDS CONTINUED ...***Blacks*

Aug 2013	13	51	22	2	12
Nov 2009	14	43	26	6	11
Sep 2007	16	37	22	5	20

*Hispanics*

Aug 2013	18	55	20	3	3
Nov 2009	20	36	36	5	3
Sep 2007	27	44	22	2	5

## b. Blacks and Hispanics

	<u>Very well</u>	<u>Pretty well</u>	<u>Not too well</u>	<u>Not at all well</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
All Adults	10	44	25	5	16
<i>Whites</i>	6	42	25	4	22
<i>Blacks</i>	22	56	18	1	4
<i>Hispanics</i>	16	44	30	7	3

**Trends:**

## All Adults

Aug 2013	10	44	25	5	16
Nov 2009	9	39	24	6	22
Sep 2007	11	33	23	8	25

*Whites*

Aug 2013	6	42	25	4	22
Nov 2009	5	37	25	6	28
Sep 2007	8	31	24	8	29

*Blacks*

Aug 2013	22	56	18	1	4
Nov 2009	22	54	18	2	4
Sep 2007	24	46	14	4	12

*Hispanics*

Aug 2013	16	44	30	7	3
Nov 2009	19	31	32	12	6
Sep 2007	22	35	19	11	13

## c. Blacks and whites

	<u>Very well</u>	<u>Pretty well</u>	<u>Not too well</u>	<u>Not at all well</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
All Adults	13	63	17	3	4
<i>Whites</i>	12	69	14	2	4
<i>Blacks</i>	16	57	23	2	2
<i>Hispanics</i>	12	48	27	8	5



## PEW.8c CONTINUED ...

**Trends:**

## All Adults

Aug 2013	13	63	17	3	4
Nov 2009	13	63	16	3	5
Sep 2007	18	57	18	2	5

*Whites*

Aug 2013	12	69	14	2	4
Nov 2009	11	68	13	2	5
Sep 2007	16	61	16	2	5

*Blacks*

Aug 2013	16	57	23	2	2
Nov 2009	16	60	20	2	2
Sep 2007	20	49	20	4	7

*Hispanics*

Aug 2013	12	48	27	8	5
Nov 2009	20	35	30	10	5
Sep 2007	25	36	25	7	7

**ASK ALL:**

PEW.9 All in all, compared with five years ago, do you think the situation of black people in this country today is better, worse, or about the same?

	<u>Better</u>	<u>Worse</u>	<u>About the same</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
All Adults	35	12	49	4
<i>Whites</i>	35	12	49	3
<i>Blacks</i>	26	21	51	3
<i>Hispanics</i>	37	8	50	5

**Trends<sup>7</sup>:**

## All Adults

Aug 2013	35	12	49	4
Nov 2009	48	6	41	5
Sep 2007	34	12	49	5
<i>Newsweek</i> 1999	47	8	40	5
<i>Gallup/JCPS</i> 1987	45	13	38	4
<i>Gallup/JCPS</i> 1986	52	9	33	6
<i>Gallup/JCPS</i> 1984	64	6	26	4

<sup>7</sup> Trend figures for all adults were unavailable for 1997, 1990, 1988, 1983, and 1981. White and black trends from surveys from 1981-1999 include Hispanics.

**PEW.9 TRENDS CONTINUED ...***Whites*

Aug 2013	35	12	49	3
Nov 2009	49	6	40	5
Sep 2007	37	8	50	5
<i>Newsweek</i> 1999	49	7	38	6
<i>Gallup/JCPS</i> 1997	43	12	44	1
<i>Gallup/JCPS</i> 1990	44	11	44	1
<i>Gallup</i> 1988	49	8	33	10
<i>Gallup/JCPS</i> 1987	48	10	38	4
<i>Gallup/JCPS</i> 1986	53	7	33	7
<i>Gallup/JCPS</i> 1984	68	4	23	5

*Blacks*

Aug 2013	26	21	51	3
Nov 2009	39	12	48	1
Sep 2007	20	29	49	2
<i>Newsweek</i> 1999	32	13	52	3
<i>Gallup/JCPS</i> 1997	24	17	56	3
<i>Gallup/JCPS</i> 1990	25	32	43	*
<i>Gallup</i> 1988	33	22	38	7
<i>Gallup/JCPS</i> 1987	29	31	37	3
<i>Gallup/JCPS</i> 1986	34	30	35	1
<i>Gallup/JCPS</i> 1984	37	30	31	2
<i>Gallup</i> 1983	20	39	38	3
<i>Gallup</i> 1981	30	29	39	2

*Hispanics*

Aug 2013	37	8	50	5
Nov 2009	47	5	43	5
Sep 2007	33	14	49	4

**NO PEW.10-PEW.11****ASK ALL:**

PEW.12 Now thinking about the financial situation of blacks compared with whites TODAY, would you say the average black person is better off, worse off or just about as well off as the average white person in terms of income and overall financial situation?

	<u>Better off</u>	<u>Worse off</u>	<u>About as well off</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
All Adults	10	41	41	8
<i>Whites</i>	10	39	43	8
<i>Blacks</i>	9	59	27	4
<i>Hispanics</i>	12	36	44	8

**ASK ALL:**

PEW.13 Just your impression, are blacks in your community treated less fairly than whites in the following situations? First, [INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE]? What about [NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: “Are blacks in your community treated less fairly than whites [ITEM]?”]

## a. On the job or at work

	Yes, treated <u>less fairly</u>	No, not treated <u>less fairly</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
All Adults	25	64	11
Whites	16	72	12
Blacks	54	38	8
Hispanics	40	50	9

**Trends for comparison<sup>8</sup>:**

## All Adults

Aug 2013	25	64	11
Gallup 2007	18	78	4
Gallup 2004	18	78	4
Gallup 2002-2003	19	73	8
Gallup 2001	16	75	9
Gallup 1999	15	79	6
Gallup 1998	13	79	8
Gallup 1997	18	70	12

## Whites

Aug 2013	16	72	12
Gallup 2007	12	84	4
Gallup 2004	11	85	4
Gallup 2002-2003 <sup>9</sup>	14	78	8
Gallup 2001	10	80	10
Gallup 1999	10	84	6
Gallup 1998	9	83	8
Gallup 1997	14	74	12

## Blacks

Aug 2013	54	38	8
Gallup 2007	53	42	5
Gallup 2004	49	44	7
Gallup 2002-2003	51	38	11
Gallup 2001	44	49	7
Gallup 1999	47	47	6
Gallup 1998	42	50	8
Gallup 1997	45	46	9

## Hispanics

Aug 2013	40	50	9
Gallup 2007	28	65	7
Gallup 2004	28	66	6

**PEW.13 CONTINUED...**

<sup>8</sup> List items differed in Gallup's survey. In 2007, they were: on the job or at work; in neighborhood shops; in stores downtown or in the shopping mall; in restaurants, bars, theaters, or other entertainment places; in dealing with the police, such as traffic incidents. In 2004, in getting health care from a doctor or hospital was included. Prior to 2004, on public transportation was included.

<sup>9</sup> Gallup trends for whites and blacks prior to 2004 include Hispanics.

## b. In stores or restaurants

	Yes, treated <u>less fairly</u>	No, not treated <u>less fairly</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
All Adults	23	70	7
<i>Whites</i>	16	77	7
<i>Blacks</i>	44	48	8
<i>Hispanics</i>	35	58	7

## c. In getting health care from doctors and hospitals

	Yes, treated <u>less fairly</u>	No, not treated <u>less fairly</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
All Adults	21	63	15
<i>Whites</i>	14	69	17
<i>Blacks</i>	47	48	6
<i>Hispanics</i>	36	49	15

**Trends for comparison<sup>10</sup>:**

All Adults			
Aug 2013	21	63	15
Gallup 2004	17	74	9
<i>Whites</i>			
Aug 2013	14	69	17
Gallup 2004	13	78	9
<i>Blacks</i>			
Aug 2013	47	48	6
Gallup 2004	38	58	4
<i>Hispanics</i>			
Aug 2013	36	49	15
Gallup 2004	28	67	5

<sup>10</sup> List items differed in Gallup's survey. In 2004, they were: on the job or at work; in neighborhood shops; in stores downtown or in the shopping mall; in restaurants, bars, theaters, or other entertainment places; in dealing with the police, such as traffic incidents; in getting health care from a doctor or hospital.

## PEW.13 CONTINUED...

## d. In dealing with the police

	Yes, treated <u>less fairly</u>	No, not treated <u>less fairly</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
All Adults	44	45	11
<i>Whites</i>	37	51	13
<i>Blacks</i>	70	25	5
<i>Hispanics</i>	51	37	11

Trends for comparison<sup>11</sup>:

All Adults			
Aug 2013	44	45	11
Gallup 2007	37	55	8
Gallup 2004	38	53	9
Gallup 2002-2003	39	50	11
Gallup 2001	39	51	10
Gallup 1999	35	54	11
Gallup 1998	33	57	10
Gallup 1997	34	51	15
<i>Whites</i>			
Aug 2013	37	51	13
Gallup 2007	31	60	9
Gallup 2004	32	59	9
Gallup 2002-2003 <sup>12</sup>	35	54	11
Gallup 2001	35	54	11
Gallup 1999	30	59	11
Gallup 1998	29	61	10
Gallup 1997	30	54	16
<i>Blacks</i>			
Aug 2013	70	25	5
Gallup 2007	73	24	4
Gallup 2004	66	28	6
Gallup 2002-2003	69	27	4
Gallup 2001	66	30	4
Gallup 1999	64	31	5
Gallup 1998	55	38	7
Gallup 1997	60	33	7
<i>Hispanics</i>			
Aug 2013	51	37	11
Gallup 2007	51	42	6
Gallup 2004	47	45	8

<sup>11</sup> Gallup item was "in dealing with the police, such as traffic incidents." List items differed in Gallup's survey. In 2007, they were: on the job or at work; in neighborhood shops; in stores downtown or in the shopping mall; in restaurants, bars, theaters, or other entertainment places; in dealing with the police, such as traffic incidents. In 2004, in getting health care from a doctor or hospital was included. Prior to 2004, on public transportation was included.

<sup>12</sup> Gallup trends for whites and blacks prior to 2004 include Hispanics.

**PEW.13 CONTINUED...**

e. In the courts

	Yes, treated <u>less fairly</u>	No, not treated <u>less fairly</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
All Adults	35	49	16
<i>Whites</i>	27	56	16
<i>Blacks</i>	68	25	7
<i>Hispanics</i>	40	39	21

f. In local public schools

	Yes, treated <u>less fairly</u>	No, not treated <u>less fairly</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
All Adults	22	66	12
<i>Whites</i>	15	73	12
<i>Blacks</i>	51	37	12
<i>Hispanics</i>	32	56	11

g. When voting in elections

	Yes, treated <u>less fairly</u>	No, not treated <u>less fairly</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
All Adults	20	69	11
<i>Whites</i>	13	77	10
<i>Blacks</i>	48	47	5
<i>Hispanics</i>	30	52	18

**DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS NOT SHOWN****ASK ALL:**

PEW.14 During the past 12 months, have you personally experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly because of your race or ethnic background, or not?

	Yes, have <u>experienced</u>	No, have not <u>experienced</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
All Adults	16	84	1
<i>Whites</i>	10	90	*
<i>Blacks</i>	35	64	2
<i>Hispanics</i>	20	80	*